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ACTION 10-19

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	INR-00	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RPCS-01
	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01

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-----A2F7E0 041430Z /38

O 041001Z MAR 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3214
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00920

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, MARR, UN, RW
SUBJECT: MEETINGS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND
FOREIGN MINISTER

REF: A) KIGALI 846; B) KIGALI 847
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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: IN TALKS WITH THE RWANDAN PRIME
MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER ON MARCH 1, THE PM
ACCEPTED THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF FRENCH TROOPS IN
RWANDA, THOUGHT THE RPF IS BEING GOVERNED BY ITS HARD
LINERS, AND HELD OUT HOPE THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON
MILITARY MATTERS COULD BE CONCLUDED WITHIN THREE
WEEKS. THE FORMIN THOUGHT THAT THE RPF WAS ENGAGED
IN A TALK AND FIGHT STRATEGY, AND THAT THE REBELS

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WILL HAVE LOST THE MORAL HIGH GROUND IF ACCUSATIONS OF ATROCITIES ARE TRUE. HE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE POLITICIZATION OF GOR FORCES, AND ACCUSED THEM OF ATROCITIES AS WELL. BOTH MINISTERS APPEARED VERY DISCOURAGED. END SUMMARY.

3. AF.RA POL/MIL ADVISOR LTC. MARLEY HAD MEETINGS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN MINISTER AND DEFENSE MINISTER ON MARCH 1. URGENT ELEMENTS WERE REPORTED IN REFTELS. OTHER ITEMS FROM THE MEETINGS FOLLOW.

PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE

4. IN HIS MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR, LTC. MARLEY, AND ECONOFF, THE PRIME MINISTER BROUGHT UP THE SUBJECTS OF FRENCH TROOPS AND HOPES FOR A RAPID RESUMPTION OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS. HE STATED THAT THE FRENCH MINISTER FOR COOPERATION, MR. DEBARGE, MADE IT CLEAR TO THE PM THAT FRENCH TROOPS WERE HERE FOR RWANDA,

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AND NOT FOR A PARTICULAR POLITICAL PARTY. IF THE GOR WANTED THEM TO LEAVE, THEN LEAVE THEY WOULD. THE PM SAID THAT HE EXPECTED DEBARGE TO HAVE TOUGH GOING IN KAMPALA, AND HOPED TO HAVE A READOUT OF HIS DISCUSSIONS THERE SOON.

5. HE ACCUSED THE RPF OF BAD FAITH, REFLECTED IN THEIR RECENT ATTACKS AND POSITIONS IN THE MEETING WITH POLITICAL PARTIES IN BUJUMBURA, AND THOUGHT THAT THERE IS A HARD LINE FACTION WHICH WANTS ONLY A MILITARY SOLUTION. WHEN QUESTIONED AS TO WHO IN THE RPF REPRESENTED THE HARD LINE, THE PM STATED THAT UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE ARMED WING ARE THE MOST MILITANT. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE POLITICIANS OF THE RPF, WELL KNOWN TO THE GOR, ARE THE FRONT MEN, REPRESENTING POLICIES DEVELOPED THROUGH CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GRASS ROOTS, MEANING THE RPF ARMED FORCES; HE THOUGHT THAT THE COMMANDERS WERE FORCING THE POLITICIANS INTO THEIR MORE INTRANSIGENT POSITIONS.

THE DAR ES SALAAM MEETING

6. THE PM STATED THAT THE WAY FORWARD NOW WOULD BE

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TO GET THE RPF TO AGREE IN DAR ES SALAAM THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS OBLIGATORY, AND TO ESTABLISH WITH THE RPF A VERY TIGHT TIMETABLE WITHIN WHICH TO COMPLETE THE PROCESS. HE ALSO STATED THAT A BASIS FOR FURTHER TALKS HAD TO BE A COMPLETE AND UNCONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE BY THE GOR (READ: MRND) OF ALL PREVIOUSLY SIGNED PROTOCOLS. LASTLY, THE NEXT
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ROUND OF ARUSHA TALKS, TO DISCUSS THE INTEGRATION OF FORCES AND DEMOBILIZATION, MUST BEGIN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE DAR TALKS, AND BE CONCLUDED WITHIN A MATTER OF TWO TO THREE WEEKS.

FORMIN: TALK AND FIGHT, AND THE FRENCH

7. THE FORMIN STARTED BY SAYING THAT THE DEBARGE VISIT HAD BEEN POSITIVE, AND THAT HE REGRETTED THE NON-PARTICIPATION OF THE MRND IN THE PARTY CONSULTATIONS WITH THE RPF IN BUJUMBURA. AFTER A BRIEFING BY LTC. MARLEY, THE FORMIN ASKED IF THE RPF

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 00920

E.O. 12356: N/A
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WAS IN ESSENCE IMPLEMENTING THE MUSEVENI STRATEGY OF
TALK AND FIGHT. LTC. MARLEY RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS
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POSSIBLE, AND STATED THAT WHAT IS NEEDED ARE
BENCHMARKS BY WHICH TO MEASURE THE RPF'S GOOD FAITH.
SUCH BENCHMARKS COULD INCLUDE THE IMMEDIATE
RESUMPTION OF ICRC FOOD CONVOYS VIA GATUNA AND
KAGITUMBA, AND THE RETURN OF THE RPF TO THEIR
PRE-FEB. 8 POSITIONS.

8. THE FORMIN ASKED WHAT KAGAME'S POSITION WAS ON
FRENCH FORCES IN RWANDA. MARLEY REPLIED THAT,
CONTRARY TO THE POSITION THE RPF WAS PRESENTING IN
BUJUMBURA, HE THOUGHT THAT KAGAME SAW THE FRENCH AS A
PSYCHOLOGICAL BLOCK TO NEGOTIATIONS, BUT DID NOT CALL
FOR THEIR WITHDRAWAL AS A PRECONDITION TO FURTHER
TALKS.

RPF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

9. THE MINISTER MOVED TO THE SUBJECT OF ALLEGED RPF
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, CHARACTERIZING THEM AS KHMER
ROUGES-STYLE "HITS" ON INDIVIDUALS IN RUHENERI. HE

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STATED THAT, PRIOR TO FEB. 8, THE RPF HAD BEEN ABLE TO PRESENT THEIR ACTIONS AS BEING NON-ETHNICALLY BASED, BUT KILLINGS SUCH AS THOSE BEING REPORTED NOW PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF HUTU EXTREMISTS, PUTTING TUTSIS AT EVEN GREATER RISK. THIS IN TURN PUTS A WHOLEY ETHNIC SPIN ON THE CONFLICT, WITH THE RPF SEEN AS FIGHTING GENOCIDE WITH GENOCIDE.

NEUTRAL MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP

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LO. ON NMOG, THE MINISTER STATED THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE THE FORCE'S FUTURE POSSIBILITIES. INCREASING THE FORCE'S SIZE WOULDN'T BE EASY, AND WILL BE VERY EXPENSIVE. IT WILL REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE FROM OAU MEMBER COUNTRIES, AND THERE MUST BE CLEAR GUARANTEES THAT THERE IS A DE FACTO AND DE JURE CEASEFIRE ON THE GROUND BEFORE THESE COUNTRIES WILL COMMIT THEIR MEN. HE DESCRIBED THIS AS A SORT OF CATCH-22: THERE CAN BE NO CEASEFIRE WITHOUT NMOG (OR SOME OTHER NEUTRAL FORCE), AND NO NMOG WITHOUT A CEASEFIRE. THESE QUESTIONS AMONG OTHERS (REPORTED REF B) WILL BE BROUGHT UP WITH THE UN'S FACTFINDING TEAM.

GOR FORCES

11. THE MINISTER SAID THAT HE FOUND THE PERFORMANCE OF THE RWANDAN ARMY EXTREMELY TROUBLING SINCE FEB. 8. HE THOUGHT IT POINTED UP THE NEED FOR A COMPLETE RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMAND STRUCTURE SO THAT THE ENTIRE ARMY FIGHTS FOR THE NATION, NOT FOR REGIONS (ALLUDING TO REPORTS THAT UNITS FROM THE SOUTH HAD DESERTED EN MASSE OR REFUSED ORDERS TO GO TO THE FRONT). FURTHER, HE STATED THAT SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF SOLDIERS HAD BEEN POLITICIZED BY THE MRND AND CDR, AND THAT THE ARMY HAD SPENT MORE TIME LOOTING AND ATTACKING CIVILIANS THAN FIGHTING THE RPF. HE SAID THAT THESE POLITICIZED ELEMENTS HAVE DECLARED THAT THOSE SOLDIERS NOT ALIGNED WITH THE CDR OR MRND MUST
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BE SEEN AS RPF SYMPATHIZERS, AND HAVE ACTED ON THAT
ASSUMPTION BY ASSASSINATING THESE SUSPECTED
INFILTRATORS. THE MINISTER NOTED A RECENT LETTER
FROM THE MDR (HIS PARTY) TO THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME
MINISTER WHICH ALLEGES THAT MRND COMMUNAL AUTHORITIES
AROUND THE COMBAT ZONE HAD PROVIDED LISTS OF MEMBERS
OF THE MDR PARTY TO THE ARMY, WHICH HAD THEN SOUGHT
OUT AND KILLED THESE PEOPLE.

COMMENT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 00920

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12. BOTH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRIME MINISTER
APPEARED EXTREMELY DISCOURAGED IN THESE MEETINGS.

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THE FOREIGN MINISTER NOTED THAT THE DEMOCRATS
INVOLVED IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS (OF WHICH HE COUNTS
HIMSELF) WERE BEGINNING TO SEE THAT THEY WERE IN A
VERY TENUOUS POSITION, STUCK BETWEEN THE RPF ON ONE
SIDE, AND THE MRND/CDR EXTREMISTS ON THE OTHER, TWO
GROUPS WHICH WANTED ONLY TO TAKE OR HOLD POWER BY
FORCE. THE PRIME MINISTER, WHILE ALSO APPEARING
QUITE CONCERNED, DID AT LEAST SOUND A POSITIVE NOTE.
HE STATED THAT THE GOR MUST ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE OF
TRYING TO WORK WITH THE RPF, TO GET THEM INTO A
GOVERNMENT OF TRANSITION, AND THEN TO ENGAGE THEM IN
EFFECTING THE CHANGES NEEDED IN RWANDA. END COMMENT.

13. LTC. MARLEY WAS NOT ABLE TO CLEAR ON THIS
MESSAGE BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR DAR ES SALAAM.

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